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THE DOGMATIC PRINCIPLES OF SOVIET PHILOSOPHY

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[AS OF 1958]

Synopsis of the 'Osnovy Marksistskoj Filosofii'

with complete index

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

The present volume of „Sovietica" offers a short synopsis of the newest version of Soviet philosophic dogma. It is a presentation of the content of the *Osnovy marksistskoj filosofii* which was authorized for publication Aug. 7, 1958, and appeared before the end of October of that year in a printing of 250 000 copies. The book was published by the Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences of the SU. The responsible editors were P. Pavelkin and G. Kurbatova and the text was prepared by eleven eminent Soviet philosophers (V. F. Berestnev, M. A. Dynnik, P. N. Fedoseev, Ju. P. Francev, G. E. Glezerman, M. D. Kammari, F. V. Konstantinov, P. V. Kopnin, I. V. Kuznecov, M. M. Rozental', A. F. Šiškin) under the direction of Konstantinov. As stated in the preface (p. 5) of the book, it was read in manuscript form by numerous scholars and professors of philosophy and then thoroughly discussed in three separate sessions (in the Academy of Sciences, and the Universities of Leningrad and Moscow).

This work presents a reliable account of Soviet dogma as of 1958, i.e. those theses which must absolutely be espoused in the SU. Perhaps the occasional detail could be formulated a little differently and one might be able to add a few more, less important, theses or drop some that are secondary, but on the whole what is found here is the heart of Soviet (and Communist) dogma. And this principally because what is said here is, for the most part, paraphrase or word-for-word repetition of the basic theses of the „classics". This is verified by the content of the discussions of the book (see *Voprosy filosofii* 1959, 4, 115–119 and 1959, 7, 162–167). The objections made by Soviet philosophers are, without exception, of a purely formal nature, concerning another possible distribution of the matter, a different structure of certain parts (e.g. the theory of war) or the weakness of formulation of certain theses. Here follows the most serious of this sort of criticism: I. Ja. Suszko and E. F. Sulimov (*VF* 1959, 7, 162) think that the antagonistic contradictions of classes (see 8.33) should be defined as follows: „Contradictions,

which spring from the contradictory conditioning of class interest, from the contradiction of their fundamental interests, which bring the battling forces into a mutually inimical relationship, and to the elimination of which the liquidation of the reactionary social forces is necessary." It is easy to see what type of criticism this is and how little it touches the essential of the theses of the *Osnovy*.

Among the particularities of this text should be noted:

1. It contains, in contradistinction to most Western (and, also, Soviet) presentations, not only Diamat but also Histomat and even adds a series of doctrines which belong not to Histomat but to the theory of „scientific socialism". Many of these theses will seem highly unphilosophical to the Western reader. But it seemed of interest to report on that which is considered to be philosophy in the SU and for this reason the whole book, with the exception of the purely historical chapters, is included.
2. This is the first official textbook of any size (as far as we know) which departs from the Stalinist version and tries to find new modes of presentation. Although Stalin is directly attacked on at least one point (16.76), the result of the effort is very little different from „Stalinism".
3. The book is of a reactionary character. Although, for example, it was published many months after the discussion on contradictions in the Institute of Philosophy (see Bibl. 2181, 2), there is not one trace of the thesis which carried the day in this discussion (see 8.11–13). In addition, the thesis on the party-mindedness of the empirical sciences in a footnote (17.13) is so formulated that it permits every sort of oppression of free research, etc.
4. On the other hand, the text contains a series of purely propagandistic theses which have nothing to do with pure Leninism or with practice in the SU, a practice which is not only recognized but explicitly supported by the reactionary philosophers. One such thesis is that which forbids intervention in the affairs of other people and the imposition of Communist domination (16.92). Similar are those on peaceful revolution (16.52 ff).
5. Nevertheless, the book is of great interest in those details where it departs from the Stalinist version which was obligatory until 1956. For example: (1) „Materialism" is presented *before* the „Dialectic"; (2) „Connection" is no longer a „law" but forms a preamble to the section

on the laws; (3) one law, forgotten by Stalin, – „The Law of the Negation of Negation" – is included; (4) morality takes up a large place; (5) this morality is a primitive, natural and quite puritanical type, wherein appears something like the recognition of human nature („golden base", 17.289). It is striking that the famous statement of Lenin, „good is what serves the destruction of the old world", is missing; (6) the work contains the above-mentioned thesis on coexistence, non-intervention and peaceful revolution.

Remarkable, also, is the title. It is no longer question of „Marxist-Leninist" but of „Marxist" philosophy – probably because of the so-called „revisionism" which constantly bases itself on Marx. As a matter of fact, the philosophy presented in the book is above all Leninist.

The publication of this synopsis is intended to help research and teaching. It is to be a precise catechism of Soviet dogma (and, in addition, of orthodox Communist dogma in general) in which that which pertains to this dogma can be found quickly and reliably. But, the author also had another intention. Sovietological research is often accused of falsifying the content of the so-called „Marxism" by not bringing to light the „humane", the „doctrine of alienation", the „democracy", etc. in this „Marxism". The fact of the matter is that research can only bring to light that which is contained in the original sources and the above-mentioned ideas of the early Marx are simply not in Soviet dogma or, if they are there, only incidentally. It is to be hoped that this synopsis, which follows the text step by step, will help dispel any illusions on the subject.

Obviously the content of the original work is richer than the synopsis since it contains no less than 688 closely printed pages. It seemed that what is not included here is either insignificant for philosophy or is made up of examples and justifications. Thereby, this text presents the essential of Soviet dogma as of the end of 1958.

The synopsis is made as follows. Wherever possible, the central theses are given in direct translation. Only where the length was prohibitive has this rule been ignored. Therefore, all of the titles and most of the theses are translations. A number of convenient abbreviations have been employed: „Diamat" for „Dialectical Materialism"; „Histomat" for „Historical Materialism"; and, „Diahistomat", a neologism of the author, which stands for „Diamat and Histomat".

The theses are listed by decimal numbers. The number before the period indicates the chapter, the first decimal number the section and the second decimal number the thesis. Only in 17.2 was it necessary to use a third decimal number – and this because the section is extraordinarily long (probably because the authors did not want to devote a special section to morality, yet wanted to discuss it at length). The division and numeration is taken from the original text, with the exception of the single thesis.
The index does not include all of the words in the synopsis but mainly technical expressions and many other key-words, which will facilitate location of the dogma sought. Even such adjectives as „antagonistic" and „formal" are included.

Translator's note: The German word *Gesetzmäßigkeit* (for the Russian *zakonomernost'*) has, at least in certain contexts, no exact equivalent in English. It designates that order, regularity or uniformity which is the basis of a law. Thus, the „Law of Gravity" is based on the observation of a certain order or regularity in physical events, e.g. in the fall of objects or parabolic flight of projectiles. Therefore, we have variously translated *Gesetzmäßigkeit* as „order", „regularity" or „uniformity", as the context and sentence structure demanded. In the case of the cognate adjective, *gesetzmäßig,* we have in some places used „law-bound". *Weltanschauung* (for microvozzrenie) has everywhere been give as „world-outlook" or „world-view" even though this does not carry all the force of the German word.

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§ 1

THE OBJECT OF PHILOSOPHY

1.1 THE BASIC PROBLEM OF PHILOSOPHY. MATERIALISM AND IDEALISM AS THE MAIN CURRENTS OF PHILOSOPHY

1.11 Marxism is made up of philosophy, political economy and the theory of scientific socialism. Its philosophical foundations are Dialectical and Historical Materialism which form the world-outlook of the revolutionary working class and of its Marxist party. (9)*)

1.12 Philosophy – contrary to religion which is based on blind faith – is based on facts, logical conclusions and, when it is a scientific philosophy, on the natural sciences and practice. (10)

1.13 The basic question of philosophy is the question concerning the relationship between thought and being, between spirit and nature – which of the two is first. (10)

1.14 There are two major answers to this question. The materialists attribute the priority to matter; they contend that no one created the world, that nature has eternally existed. The idealists attribute the priority to thought or to „spirit". A compromise, dualism, is contradictory. (11)

1.15 Idealism is either subjective or objective according to whether the spirit in question is a human spirit or a super-human spirit, existing outside of man. (12)

1.16 Idealism and religion are in agreement as to the answer to be given to this basic problem of world-outlook. (13) In history idealism has stood on the side of religion and materialism on the side of science. (14)

*) The numbers in parentheses refer to the page numbers of the original work.

1.17 Scepticism, agnosticism and positivism are forms of idealism. (17–18)

1.18 Materialism is divided into vulgar or mechanistic materialism on the one hand, and Marxist materialism on the other. (19)

1.19 The weakness of vulgar materialism lies in its application of the metaphysical method. This means that it considers things in isolation from their organic inter-connections. The dialectical method is the antithesis of this. (20)

1.2 THE OBJECT OF MARXIST PHILOSOPHY. THE RELATIONSHIP OF PHILOSOPHY TO THE OTHER SCIENCES

1.21 Philosophy is not the „science of sciences". It neither stands above the special sciences (23–24) nor does it have an object distinct from theirs. (24)

1.22 Philosophy has as proper object of investigation the bonds and relations which are more universal than those examined by the special sciences. (24) It investigates the most general laws of all movement and of every development. (25)

1.23 An unphilosophic special science – against the opinion of the positivists – is an impossibility. (28) When the scientist passes from description of the facts to the establishment of laws and to theoretical considerations, he cannot do without philosophy, world-outlook and theory of knowledge. (29)

1.24 Marxist philosophy is necessary as a directive method for the social sciences, too. (30)

1.3 DIAHISTOMAT AS THE CONCEPTUAL WEAPON OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PROLETARIAT

1.31 The correct world-view is of tremendous significance for the working class' battle for liberation, because it was Marxist philosophy

which enabled the workers to free themselves from the spiritual yoke of religion and from naive trust in the good intentions of the capitalists. This philosophy showed that the working class can free itself only through active battle. (31)

1.32 The dialectico-materialist view on the development of nature is the theoretical foundation of the idea of revolution. (33)

1.33 Marxist economic theory finds its methodological and philosophical basis in Diahistomat. (33)

1.34 The strategy and tactics of the Maxist party is inextricably bound up with the fundamental principles of its world-outlook. (34)

1.35 For the Communist Party, questions of world-outlook are not private affairs of its members. (35)

1.36 The party considers the defence of the philosophical principles of Marxism to be a party affair. The party is an ideological monolith. (35)

1.37 Marxist philosophy is party philosophy. But, since the proletariat is interested in knowing the true laws, because these are necessary for the reformation of society, this party-mindedness does not vitiate the objectivity of Marxist philosophy. (35/6)

1.38 On the contrary, Marxism considers idealist philosophy – the party philosophy of the bourgeoisie, who are interested in a falsification of the truth – unobjective. (35)

1.39 A bourgeois scholar can correctly describe isolated facts but his philosophy is false. (36)

§ 2

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN MATERIALISM AND IDEALISM IN THE HISTORY OF PRE-MARXIST PHILOSOPHY

(38–87)

§ 3

THE BIRTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF MARXIST PHILOSOPHY

(88–114)

I

DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM

§ 4

MATTER AND ITS EXISTENTIAL FORMS

4.1 MATTER

4.11 Science has indisputably established that the world existed long before man and life; and that the sun and earth, and so on, exist independent of any human consciousness. For this reason, since there neither is nor can be any other consciousness, matter is primary and knowledge is secondary. (115/6)

4.12 Matter is a philosophic category which designates that objective reality which is present to man in his sensations, which is copied, photographed, reflected in his sensations, and which exists independently of him. (116/7)

4.13 The *sole* „attribute" of matter which philosophic materialism must acknowledge is the attribute of being *objective reality*. Matter exists outside of our knowledge. (119)

4.14 In opposition to metaphysical materialism, Diamat rejects any notion of the „necessary and immutable essences of things" and of an „absolutely simple substance". Matter is inexhaustible in depth. (121)

4.15 Matter is eternal, endless and unlimited. However, each thing is mutable, determined and limited. (127)

4.16 Matter is not something homogeneous or determined by a single quality (*odnokačestvennoe*). (127)

4.2 THE MOVEMENT OF MATTER

4.21 As science has shown, everything in nature is in movement. (127/8)

4.22 Movement is not accidental. It is an eternal attribute, an existential form, of matter. (128)

4.23 Under „movement" Diamat includes not just the mechanical movement of bodies in space but rather every type of change. (128) One can distinguish the following fundamental forms of movement: (1) the movement of bodies relative to other bodies in space; (2) the forms of movement which are the object of physics, e.g. thermal and electromagnetic processes, luminous flux, etc.; (3) chemical processes; (4) biological forms of movement; (5) social processes, the history of human society. (128/9)

4.24 Each form of movement is inalienably bound up with a given form of matter. (129)

4.25 There can be neither matter without movement nor movement without matter. (132)

4.26 Movement is absolute: it is neither destructible (*neuničtožimo*) nor able to be created. Movement is relative; it is transitory, temperal and passes over into other processes. (137)

4.27 Movement is internally contradictory; it is absolute and relative; it is a change which contains a moment of immutability; it contains moments of continuity and discontinuity. (137)

4.3 SPACE AND TIME

4.31 Space is an objectively real existential form of matter in motion. (138)

4.32 Time is an objectively real existential form of matter in motion. (139)

4.33 There is nothing in the world other than matter in motion and matter in motion cannot move but in space and time. (139)

4.34 Space and time are two distinct existential forms of matter. (140)

4.35 Space is not only unlimited but also endless. (140)

4.36 Time is unlimited and endless. (141)

4.37 Space is three-dimensional: it has no more dimensions than these. Time is one-dimensional and irreversible. (142)

4.4 THE UNITY OF THE WORLD

4.41 Contrary to the view that, in addition to the material world there is yet a second, „spiritual", world, science has step by step proved that there are not two worlds. The world is one. (151)

4.42 The unity of the world is real, not conceptual. (151/2)

4.43 The unity of the world is not based in its being – it must first *be* before it can be *one* – but in its materiality. (152)

4.44 In the world there is nothing and there never will be anything which is not matter in motion or a product of matter in motion. Therein lies the unity of the world. (158)

§ 5

MATTER AND CONSCIOUSNESS

5.1 CONSCIOUSNESS AS AN ATTRIBUTE OF HIGHLY ORGANIZED MATTER

5.11 Consciousness is a higher product of matter, of nature. The opinion that it is an attribute of an immaterial substance, the „soul", is fantastic and has been disproved by science. (159)

5.12 Consciousness is not – as the vulgar materialists thought – a special type of matter, which is produced by the brain. Consciousness is marked by none of those physical qualities which are possessed by bodies. (160)

5.13 Consciousness is a product of the brain, a function of the brain. The brain is the organ of consciousness, the organ of thought. (162)

5.14 Physiological processes and thought are not two distinct processes but *a single process* whose inner content is the consciousness. Hence, consciousness is inseparable from matter. (163)

5.15 The localization theory is false. (165/6)

5.2 CONSCIOUSNESS AS REFLECTION OF THE EXTERNAL WORLD

5.21 Sensations are the elementary forms of consciousness upon which all others build. (167)

5.22 Sensations arise in the brain only under the influence of the external world. (167)

5.23 The characteristics of material objects evoke in us not just any accidental or chaotic sensations, but rather very definite sensations which correspond to the objective nature of the objects. (168)

5.24 The eye faithfully reflects the relative disposition of objects in space. (170)

5.25 Since man is not only a biological but also a social being, (171) our brain can also form images and pictures of objects, which are not at the moment evoking sensations in us, (172) abstract concepts (173) and scientific theories. These are all reflections of the real world. (173)

5.26 All matter has the capacity of reflecting something else. (175) The specific character of this reflection in the living organism is the reflex which is a reaction to a signal-system. (178) The mode of this reflection in man is distinguished by the fact that the second signal-system plays a role; which involves the signal of a signal, i.e. language. (179)

5.3 CRITIQUE OF THE „THEORY OF SYMBOLS". OBJECTIVE TRUTH

5.31 The theory of symbols (Müller) or hieroglyphs (Plechanov), according to which sensations have nothing in common with the characteristics of the objects which evoked them, is false. (182)

5.32 Even though the image cannot fully reflect its model, it is nevertheless an image and not a conventional sign. (182) Sensations are images, copies, of material objects and not conventional symbols or hieroglyphs of them. (183)

5.33 The sensations, e.g. warmth, do not deceive us but rather reflect processes relative to the former state of the bodies in question. (184)

5.34 Sensations must be correctly interpreted and analyzed in order that they supply us with a correct image of reality. (185)

5.35 Sensation is a subjective and ideal image of the objective world. It has a content which is independent of the consciousness of man. This content, which correctly reflects the external world, is called „objective truth". (186)

5.36 The essence of truth is its objectivity. Without objectivity there is simply no truth. (187)

5.4 LANGUAGE AND THINKING

5.41 General and abstract thinking in concepts, which is expressed with the help of words, is proper only to man. (188)

5.42 Thinking and language are social products. It is impossible that they came to be in isolation. They are important tools of material production. (189)

5.43 Language is the immediate reality of consciousness. Reality and consciousness are inseparable. (190)

5.44 Thought and language are not identical: thought is a reflection of objective reality: language is a means of communicating thought to other men. (190)

5.45 Every word generalizes. Language offers the possibility of abstract and general thinking in concepts. (191)

5.46 Words are conventional signs: there is no magical relationship between them and things. But, that which words signify is not conventional. (193)

§ 6

THE REGULAR CONNECTION OF THE PHENOMENA OF REALITY

6.1 CONNECTION OF PHENOMENA. CAUSE AND EFFECT

6.11 The world is a whole in which the single parts, processes and phenomena are mutually connected. (194)

6.12 Causality is one of the forms of the general inter-connectedness of phenomena. (194)

6.13 Causality is a connectedness of phenomena such that when one comes to be the other comes to be, too. (195)

6.14 The cause should be identified neither with temporal sequence nor with the occasion (*povod*). (195)

6.15 All phenomena and changes in the world come to be as results of the activity of causes. There are no uncaused phenomena although we cannot know all causes. (195)

6.16 Those philosophers who recognize the objectivity of this law, the law of causality, are determinists; those who deny it are indeterminists. Determinism leaves no place for God, miracles, etc. (196)

6.17 Although the relationship between cause and effect can be represented in the form of a functional dependence, causality should not be identified with functional connection. (198/9)

6.18 The law of causality means only that all phenomena are produced by a cause: the dialectico-materialistic version of causality does not limit it to the mechanical form of determinism. According to this version there are several forms of causality. This determinism is also valid for the microcosmos. (200/1)

6.19 The connection between cause and effect has a character of interaction. (201)

6.2 LAW AS THE FORM OF CONNECTION OF PHENOMENA. THE INDIVIDUAL, PARTICULAR AND UNIVERSAL

6.21 Law is the determination of a necessary relation between things, phenomena and processes. (202)

6.22 Law is a connection of phenomena which has the character of being essential. By „essence" is meant the internal and by „contingency" the external, and not in a spatial sense but rather in reference to the significance for the characterization of the object. (203)

6.23 Regular connections are the results of causality in the things but, nonetheless, a law does not always express a causal connection. (203)

6.24 Law is that which is universal in phenomena. The universal is the objectively existing universality of real objects and is expressed in the identity (*edinstve*) of their characteristics, attributes and traits. Under „individual" are included objects, phenomena, etc. which are to be found in nature and society. The particular is in the nature of a link between the individual and the universal. (204)

6.25 Diamat teaches that both the individual and the universal are objective, whereby neither exists except in constant conjunction with the other. (205)

6.26 Only through the examination and comparison of a great number of individual phenomena can the universal be known. Knowledge is an ascent from the individual, through the particular, to the universal. (206)

6.27 Nature sets no goals (for itself). Darwin correctly explained the teleology of the organic through causality. (212)

6.28 Diamat excludes neither goals nor free activity in the case of man. Fatalism is just as foreign to Diamat as is subjectivism. For, when human goals are based on the known regularities of the development of the world, then the realization of these goals leads to control over the laws of nature and society. (212/3)

6.29 One and the same law takes on different forms in accordance with the circumstances. (213)

6.3 NECESSITY AND CONTINGENCY

6.31 The necessary is that which flows from essences, from the internal connections of things. Contingency is not directly bound up with the essence of the thing. Necessity has its cause in itself – contingency has its cause in another. (214)

6.32 Contingency is a form of the appearance of necessity and its completion. There is a mutual bound between them. (217) Neither exists alone. (220)

6.33 To be contingent does not mean to be without a cause. Everything which is contingent has its cause. (218)

6.34 In the process of development contingency passes into necessity and vice versa. (218)

6.35 The statistical law has all the earmarks of a law: it is objective, necessary and universal. The only difference is that the regularity expressed by it can be known only on the basis of a great number of cases. (219)

6.4 POSSIBILITY AND REALITY

6.41 The possibility of the coming to be of a phenomenon follows from the operation of the objective laws of the material world. It becomes reality when certain definite conditions are realized. This transition is one of the forms of the regular connection of phenomena. (221)

6.42 Reality is actualized possibility. (221)

6.43 Probability is the quantitative characterization of possibility. It is not an expression of the degree of man's subjective belief, but a characteristic of the objectively existing connection between the conditions and the event. (222)

6.44 In practice it is not abstract and formal but real possibility which counts. This last flows from the existing conditions. (223)

6.45 Among possibilities there are some which have a character of necessity as, for example, the victory of the socialist revolution in all countries. (225)

§ 7

THE BASIC LAWS OF THE DIALECTIC
THE LAW OF THE TRANSITION OF QUANTITATIVE CHANGES INTO QUALITATIVE

7.1 THE DIALECTICAL THEORY OF DEVELOPMENT

7.11 The world is matter in motion. (227)

7.12 There are two interpretations of development. The first, the metaphysical theory, accepts only quantitative changes and rejects the qualitative. The other, the dialectical theory, the only one which is scientific, interprets development as the coming to be of the really new by force of internal contradictions. (228/9)

7.13 The basic laws of the dialectic are: the law of the transition of quantitative changes into qualitative; the law of the unity and conflict of contradictions; the law of the negation of negation. (229)

7.14 There are also other categories of the dialectic, such as: content and form, contingency and necessity, essence and appearance, etc. (230)

7.15 Every dialectical law has a specific expression in every process and in every particular phenomenon. (231)

7.2 QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE CHANGES; THE TRANSITION OF ONE INTO THE OTHER

7.21 Quality is a determination of an object and is internal to it. Hence, a change of quality implies a transformation of the object in question. One is fully justified in calling the quality of a thing one of its most essential properties. (235)

7.22 A property is the external expression of a quality in the relationship of the object in question to other objects. (235)

7.23 Quality is that limit whereby an object is distinguished from other objects. (236)

7.24 Quantity is also a determination of the object; however, it characterizes the object in reference to the degree of development of its properties. (236)

7.25 One can – up to a certain point – increase or decrease the quantity without the object losing its qualitative content. (237)

7.26 Quantity is internally bound up with quality and with the object. It is also a limit; but, this limit is elastic. When, however, a certain point is passed quantitative change passes into qualitative change. (237/8)

7.27 The limit in question (7.26) is called „mass". (240)

7.28 The law of the transition of quantitative changes into qualitative is a law according to which small, at first insignificant, quantitative changes, having reached a certain point, break (*narušajut*) the measure of the object and (thereby) evoke fundamental (*korennye*) qualitative changes. As a consequence, objects change, the old quality disappears and a new quality comes to be. (241)

7.3 UNITY OF THE EVOLUTIONARY AND REVOLUTIONARY FORMS OF DEVELOPMENT. THE LEAPS

7.31 Quantitative changes make up evolutionary development: qualitative changes make up the revolutionary form of development. (243)

7.32 Revolutionary change is a leap, a breach in the continuity of quantitative changes, a transition from one quality to another. Every qualitative change takes the form of a leap. (244)

7.33 The life and development of nature is made up of slow evolution and of quick leaps. (246) Therefore, both the vulgar evolutionary theory, according to which there is only evolution without leaps, and the cataclysm-theory, according to which there are only leaps without evolution, are false. (245)

7.34 The leaps do not always and everywhere happen in an instant. There are long-lasting leaps. (247)

7.4 ON THE DIVERSE FORMS OF THE TRANSITION FROM THE OLD TO THE NEW QUALITY

7.41 There are diverse forms of the transition of the one into the other, diverse forms of the leap. (249)

7.42 There are objects whose qualitative changes are strictly in the form of leaps in which the object is completely changed all at once. Example: the changes of the chemical elements in Mendeleev's table. (250)

7.43 There are leaps which change the object, the quality, not all at once but successively – one part after the other. Example: the transition of one type of plant into another. (251)

7.44 Political revolutions disappear completely from socialist society – this in contradistinction to the antagonistic formations where leaps have this form. (253)

§ 8

THE LAW OF THE UNITY AND CONFLICT OF CONTRARIES

8.1 OBJECTS AND PHENOMENA AS UNITIES OF CONTRARIES. THE CONFLICT OF CONTRARIES AS SOURCE OF DEVELOPMENT

8.11 The principle of contradiction – which forbids the simultaneous acceptance of propositions which contradict each other – is correct but Aristotle, who first expressed it, made a mistake when he thence concluded that there are no contradictions in things. (256)

8.12 There are contradictions in things and these are not only external – between distinct objects – but also internal, oppositions between two mutually contradictory sides and tendencies in the essence of one and the same object. (259)

8.13 A body in motion is at one and the same instant of time in one place in space and not in that place, i.e. is elsewhere. (260)

8.14 The dialectic (of contradictions) is the „algebra" of the revolution. (261)

8.15 Development is a „battle" of contraries. If there were no internal contradictions, there would be no movement. (262)

8.16 In the conflict, the contradictions are resolved. (264)

8.17 The law of the unity and conflict of contraries is a law according to which in all things, phenomena and processes there are internal, contradictory aspects and tendencies which are in a conflict situation. This conflict gives development its inner impulse and leads to the sharpening of the contraries which are finally resolved through the disappearance of the old and the coming to be of the new. (265)

8.2 INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL CONTRADICTIONS

8.21 Movement and development are self-movement and self-develop-

ment. (267) Matter contains within itself the cause of its development. (268)

8.22 Movement comes to be because of the conflict of the internal contradictions. (268)

8.23 Internal contradictions are contradictions in the essence of the object so that the object cannot exist without both of the mutually contradictory sides. External contradictions are oppositions between objects which are different from one another but closely connected. (269)

8.24 Internal and external contradictions are bound up with one another. (270)

8.25 Internal contradictions play the principal role in development and external contradictions play a secondary role (270), although there can be cases where the latter come to the fore. (271)

8.3 SPECIFIC PROPERTIES OF VARIOUS CONTRADICTIONS

8.31 Every type of movement has its own contradictions. (273) For example, the expression „battle" has a meaning in nature different from that it has in society. (274)

8.32 In social development there are two types of contradictions, antagonistic and non-antagonistic. (275)

8.33 Antagonistic contradictions are oppositions of inimical social forces, which lead to conflicts. (275)*)

8.34 Non-antagonistic contradictions are oppositions of such forces and tendencies as have, along with the oppositions, also common fundamental interests. (277)

8.4 CONTENT AND FORM. ROOT AND RESOLUTION OF THEIR CONTRADICTIONS

8.41 The content is that basis and principal aspect of an object which determines its qualitative type and appears in all of its elements. (281)

*) s. Preface.

8.42 Form is the existential mode of the content, its internal organization and its structure, which makes its coming to be possible. (281)

8.43 Content and form are always found together. Content is the determining aspect, but the form, even though it is dependent on the content, is not passive – it works on the content and plays a very great role in development. (282)

8.44 If the form is to fulfil its task as the stable element, then it cannot be constantly changing. Whereupon, the constant development of the content leads to a contradiction between the form and itself. (283)

8.45 The contradiction between the old form and the new content leads to conflict between them. This conflict lasts until the old form is replaced by a new one which corresponds to the changed content. (283)

8.46 Formalism is a result of absolutizing the form. (285)

§ 9

THE LAW OF THE NEGATION OF NEGATION

9.1 ESSENCE AND ROLE OF THE DIALECTICAL NEGATION IN THE PROCESS OF DEVELOPMENT

9.11 The dialectical negation is not just any negation but one which serves as prelude to development. In the dialectic, „negate" does not simply mean to say „no". (290)

9.2 THE PROGRESSIVE CHARACTER OF DEVELOPMENT AND ITS FORMS

9.21 Progressive development is the result of the fact that every new negation absorbs that previously attained and uses it as a base for further movement. (293)

9.22 Development contains a regression to the previous state, but a regression on a new and higher level. (299)

9.23 The law of the negation of negation is the law according to which there exists a relationship between the negated and the negating such that the dialectical negation is not a simple negation which rejects the entire previous development but, rather, the base for a development which retains all that was positive in the previous state, which reproduces some aspects of the previous state on a higher level, and which as a whole has a progressive character. (301)

§ 10

THE DIALECTIC OF THE PROCESS OF KNOWLEDGE

10.1 THE DIALECTIC AS THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE. DIALECTICAL AND FORMAL LOGIC

10.11 The subjective dialectic (the development of our thought) is a reflection of the objective dialectic (the development of phenomena of the material world). Correctly understood, the laws of thought and the laws of nature necessarily correspond. (304)

10.12 The dialectic contains the theory of knowledge and logic. (304)

10.13 Formal logic is the science on the forms of thought, laws and forms of inference of one judgment from another. It examines the forms of thought from the point of view of their structure, not paying attention to their source or development. (305 f.)

10.14 Formal logic starts out from certain laws, namely, from the laws of identity, contradiction, excluded third and sufficient reason. The distortion of these laws – especially the law of contradiction – leads to errors and confusions. (306)

10.15 A correctly understood law of contradiction is fully compatible with the recognition of contradictions in the objective world since it, like all laws of logic, expresses only the simple relationships between things and thereby causes a fixation. (307)

10.16 Formal logic is not the only science on thought – there is also dialectical logic whose main object is the problem of truth, not the external relations but the laws of the development of all material, natural and spiritual things. (308)

10.17 Dialectical logic has no laws other than the objective dialectic.

10.2 CORRELATION OF THE SENSIBLE AND THE RATIONAL IN KNOWLEDGE. ESSENCE AND APPEARANCE

10.21 Before sensible experience, man has no knowledge of the external world and can have none. Therein, empiricism is right. (209)

10.22 The subject, the reason, thought is active in knowledge. Therein, rationalism is right. (311)

10.23 Empiricism and rationalism are two, one-sided metaphysical versions of knowledge. (312)

10.24 Mysticism and intuitionism, according to which truth is attainable only by a secret path which is not open to all men, are false. (321)

10.25 The sources of our knowledge are sensations and perceptions, which reflect the external world. When, however, one says that every knowledge is in the end based on experience, the subject of this experience is not individual man but mankind. (313)

10.26 Practice is the foundation of human knowledge and the criterion of its truth. (313)

10.27 Essence is that inner, relatively stable, aspect of objective reality which determines the nature of the phenomenon in question. And, appearance is the external, more mobile and changeable aspect of objective reality. Appearance is the concrete self-revelation (*obnaruženie*) of the essence. (314)

10.28 Every essence exhibits itself in concrete appearances. There are no pure essences. The appearance is essential. There is an internal, unbreachable, unity of the essence and the appearances. (315)

10.29 Essence is reached by thought while the senses deal with appearances. The unity of essence and appearances forms the objective foundation of the sensible and rational in knowledge. (316)

10.3 THE DIALECTIC OF THE ABSTRACT AND CONCRETE, OF THE LOGICAL AND HISTORICAL

10.31 Concrete knowledge is possible because the object forms a unity:

abstract knowledge is possible because the diverse aspects of the object are relatively independent and able to be separated in knowledge. (320)

10.32 Abstractions are generalizations of sense knowledge. The abstract is a means of conceiving the concrete. (322)

10.33 The historical is the movement of the real object itself: the logical is the reflection of the historical. The historical is primary: the logical is secondary. (323)

10.34 Without the logical point of view (*podchod*) the historical is blind: without the historical, the logical is pointless. (324)

10.4 THE FORMS OF THOUGHT AND THEIR ROLE IN KNOWLEDGE

10.41 Knowledge is man's reflection of nature. But, this is no simple, direct or holistic reflection; rather, it is a process. We here have three parts: (1) nature, (2) human knowledge, i.e. man's brain, (3) the form of the reflection of nature in human knowledge. (326)

10.42 The forms of thought are: judgements, inferences, hypotheses, theories, concepts, categories, etc. (326)

10.43 Knowledge progresses from the individual, through the particular, to the universal. (327)

10.44 Dialectical logic exhibits the connection, the unity of the diverse forms of inference, among others, of induction and deduction. (330)

10.5 PRACTICE AS THE BASIS OF KNOWLEDGE AND THE CRITERION OF TRUTH

10.51 Knowledge comes to be on the basis of and because of the requirements of the practical activity of men. (333)

10.52 Theory is not independent and autonomous. It is the scientific generalization of practice and grows out of the requirements of the practical activity of men. (334)

10.53 Pragmatism is false because it rejects objective truth.

10.54 The „success" of human practice shows the agreement of our representations with the objective nature of the things which we perceive. (337)

10.55 The criterion of practice is absolute because all that is established by practice is objective truth: it is relative because at no point in its development can practice fully confirm or refute a theory. (338)

10.6 THE DIALECTIC OF ABSOLUTE AND RELATIVE TRUTH

10.61 Truth is a process. The coincidence of thought with the object is a process. (339)

10.62 Absolute truth is objective truth in its fullest form. This is knowledge which cannot be refuted by the further progress of science and practice. (340)

10.63 Absolute truth is not just the object which is sought by our knowledge, for in every domain of scientific knowledge there are pronouncements which are absolutely true. (340)

10.64 Relative truth is knowledge which offers an essentially correct reflection of reality; but, this knowledge is not complete except within certain limits, under certain conditions and in certain circumstances. (340)

10.65 Absolute and relative truth are two moments of objective truth. They differ not in regard to their source but in the degree of exactitude, appropriateness and completeness of their reflection of reality. (341)

10.66 There is no abstract truth. Truth is always concrete. (344)

II

HISTORICAL MATERIALISM

§ 11

HISTORICAL MATERIALISM AS THE SCIENCE OF THE DEVELOPMENTAL LAWS OF SOCIETY

11.1 THE OBJECT OF HISTOMAT

11.11 Human society is a part of the material world – but a specific part. Therefore, the laws and categories of Diamat are here valid, but in a special form. (349)

11.12 The basic problem of Histomat is: what is primary, social consciousness or social being? (350)

11.13 In contradistinction to the special social sciences, Histomat investigates not the single aspects of society but society as a whole. It is related to history as algebra to arithmetic: it is an abstract, theoretical and methodological theory. (350/1)

11.14 Marx' teaching on social formations is the cornerstone of Histomat. (352)

11.15 The basis of all social relations are those connections and relations which come to be in the process of production. Histomat neglects none of them. It treats society as a living organism which contains them all. (352/3)

11.16 Histomat is, at the same time, a doctrine and a method: both (aspects) are inseparably bound up with each other. (354)

11.17 Histomat is the basis af Communism: it is no schema and no dogma, but a living doctrine which shows the way in study and activity. (355)

11.2 THE ORIGIN OF HISTOMAT AS A REVOLUTION IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

11.21 The coming to be of Histomat was a law-bound occurrence in the development of society and of scientific and philosophic thought. (356)

11.22 All that was done in this field before Marx was only a preparation. The creation of Historical Materialism was a great act of enormous historical importance. (358)

11.23 Histomat came to be as the result of the application of Diamat in the investigation of society and its history. Hence, its laws and categories cannot be fully understood except in connection with the doctrine of Diamat. (358)

11.3 CHARACTER OF THE REGULARITIES OF SOCIAL LIFE AND OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY

11.31 Histomat was the first to scientifically establish the internally necessary connections between social phenomena. (363)

11.32 Histomat views the development of economic formations as a natural, historical process. (365) The laws of social development are objective laws. (364)

11.33 The so-called „economic laws" are not eternal laws of nature, but historical laws which come to be and pass away. (366)

11.4 HISTORICAL REGULARITY AND THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF MEN. FREEDOM AND NECESSITY

11.41 Histomat has nothing in common with fatalism and quietism. (368/9)

11.42 There is no contradiction between the recognition of historical regularity and necessity, and the recognition of the significance of the historical activity of men. (370)

11.43 Freedom consists not in a putative independence from the laws of nature but rather in knowledge of these laws and in the therein founded possibility of using these laws of nature for projected goals. (371) This is also true of social laws. (372)

11.5 THE PARTY-MINDEDNESS OF HISTOMAT

11.51 There is no social science or social theory which is non-partisan, classless or supra-partisan. And, such is not possible in a class society. (373)

11.52 The general theoretical problems of the empirical sciences are also a battlefield of the ideological battle which, in one way or another, reflects the class conflict. (373)

11.53 Every bourgeois sociology and historiography of our time has as its principal task the battle against Marxism, materialism and Communism. (373)

11.54 Not every party-mindedness is alike. While the party-mindedness of the reactionary classes excludes the possibility of objective, scientific investigation, the progressive class can be objective. (374)

11.55 Time works in favor of the progressive class, which is why it does not fear the objective laws. There is no conflict between its tendencies and the laws of social development. This is why, in contradistinction to the reactionary classes, it is interested in knowing the objective truth. (374)

11.56 The party-mindedness of Histomat consists in the fact that it forms the theoretico-historical basis of Marxism, i.e. of the theory of the revolutionary battle of the proletariat. (376)

§ 12

MATERIAL PRODUCTION: THE BASIS OF SOCIAL LIFE

12.1 THE ROLE OF WORK IN THE COMING TO BE AND IN THE LIFE OF SOCIETY

12.11 Human society is a specific part of the material world. (382)

12.12 Work, the production of material goods, is the fundamental, determining force of the progressive development of society. (382)

12.13 Work is the purposeful activity of man in the course of which he forms and adapts natural objects in order to satisfy his wants. (383)

12.14 The making of tools of production is a necessary condition of work. (383)

12.15 Man distinguishes himself radically from the animal by the fact that he reworks natural things and can make work-tools out of them. (383)

12.16 Every process of production contains three moments: (1) purposeful activity of man, i.e. work, (2) the object of the work, (3) work-tools. (383)

12.17 Consciousness plays a colossal role in the life and development of society. However, consciousness itself is a product of social development and cannot be the cause of the coming to be of society. Only in work did it develop, in social production and thanks to this production. (384)

12.18 Social production demands comprehension: language is the means of comprehension: thought developed with language. Without the necessity of comprehension in the process of production, it would not have been able to develop. (384)

12.19 In time, as work came to be the source of man's existence, the history of human society began. Hence, one can say that the herd be-

came human through work and was transformed into human society. (384/5)

12.2 GEOGRAPHICAL MILIEU AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY

12.21 External nature, i.e. the geographical milieu, is a necessary condition of the material process of production. (385)

12.22 The geographical milieu has an influence on the development of human society everywhere, but this influence is different in different historical epochs. It is less important when the forces of production are highly developed. (387)

12.23 The dependence of man on material sources does not vanish, but the domination of man over nature grows and grows. (387)

12.24 The geographical milieu can impede or slow down the development of production but it cannot be the determining factor of the changes of social life. (388)

12.25 Geographical determinism is false: it ignores the internal regularities of the development of society and cannot explain why, in the same geographical milieu, there are radical changes in social life. (388/9)

12.3 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF POPULATION GROWTH IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY

12.31 Population growth is an important determinant or the development of society. (391)

12.32 The density of the population only offers a few possibilities for the growth of production, and these possibilities are not always realized. (392)

12.33 Malthusianism and neo-Malthusianism are false. Marx proved that over-population is not the result of a natural law but of the conditions existing under capitalism. (393)

12.34 Proper to each historically determined way of producing are demographic laws of a historical character. (394)

12.35 Sociological theories which explain the development of society by the biological law of multiplication are false. (397)

12.36 It is not the growth of the population which determines the development of the society and the character of the social order but, vice versa, the growth of the population depends above all (*v bolšoj mere*) on the character of the social order. (399)

12.4 MEANS OF THE PRODUCTION OF MATERIAL GOODS. FORCES OF PRODUCTION AND RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION

12.41 In the final analysis it is the growth of the forces of production which is the primitive source of all changes in social life. (399)

12.42 The forces of production are the means of production, i.e. production-tools and manpower. (399)

12.43 The instruments of work are always the result of the productive activity of men. Men, the working masses who produce the material goods, are the principal and decisive force of production. (400)

12.44 Therefore, the popular masses are the creators of history. (400)

12.45 In the process of production men enter into certain relations not only with nature but also with each other. Marx called these „relations of production". Together the forces of production and the relations of production make up the unity of the means of production. (400)

12.46 In the wide sense of the term the relations of production include all commercial relationships, those of production, of trade and of distribution. In the strict sense, Marx used the term to indicate those relationships which spring up directly from the process of production. (402)

12.47 The relationship of men to the means of production is determining for all types of relations of production; but, this relationship is characterized by the forms of property. (403)

12.48 There are two forms of property: where the means of produc-

tion belong to single persons, classes, etc. and where they belong to the entire society. From the first result relations of domination and subjection, of exploitation and oppression; from the second, relations of cooperation and mutual aid. (403)

12.49 Relations of production are relations which are objective, material and independent of the human will. (404)

12.5 THE DETERMINING ROLE OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION IN THE CHANGES OF FORM OF SOCIAL LIFE

12.51 The history of mankind is the history of the development and changes of socio-economic formations. Primitive society was destroyed by the slave-owning formation, this by feudalism: the feudal order in turn was replaced by the capitalist and, in a number of countries, the capitalist has been destroyed by the socialist, which is the first phase of the Communist formation. (405)

12.52 The internal order of a given socio-economic formation is determined by the means of production. (406)

12.53 The ethnic and historical forms of human society, e.g. the tribe, the people, the nation, also depend on the means of production. (407)

12.54 The nation is not a tribal or racial unity but a historical community of men which is based on a common language, territory, economic life and psychic structure (*sklad*) and which finds its expression in the specific characteristics of the national culture. (408)

§ 13

THE DIALECTIC OF THE FORCES OF PRODUCTION AND THE RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION

13.1 DEPENDENCY OF THE RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION ON THE CHARACTER OF THE FORCES OF PRODUCTION

13.11 First to change in the development of social production are the forces of production, above all the tools of production; later, the relations of production change among men. The forces of production are the most revolutionary element in production. (410/11)

13.12 The forces of production grow and change constantly while the relations of production, the forms of property, do not change every day. But, since production can continuously grow only when the relations of production correspond to the character of the forces of production, there arises a contradiction in the class-community, which must be resolved sooner or later. (413)

13.2 THE REACTION OF THE RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FORCES OF PRODUCTION

13.21 Numerous factors have an influence on the development of the forces of production. The basic determinants, however, are those forces of production already developed by society. The main source of the development of production should be sought within production itself and nowhere else. This source is the dialectical and mutual relationship of the elements of production, especially of the forces and relations of production. (416)

13.22 The relations of production provide growing room for the forces of production, to the character of which they correspond; when they (relations) are in contradiction to them (forces), they hinder their development. (417)

13.3 THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN THE FORCES OF PRODUCTION AND THE RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION UNDER CAPITALISM

13.31 Private possession of the means of production forms the base of the relations of production under capitalism. It is used to exploit the wage-earner. (422)

13.32 Capitalism was once a progressive force. It introduced the production of goods. Between the worker and the means of production stands the industrialist who takes the fruit of the work of someone else. (422)

13.33 The basic contradiction of the capitalist system is between the social character of production and the private mode of appropriation. A consequence of this is that there are chronic crises, unemployment and colossal losses in forces of production. (422/3)

13.34 The development of the forces of production leads, under capitalism, to sharpening of the antagonistic contradictions and to greater exploitation of the worker. (422)

13.35 Technical progress sharpens, under capitalism, the contradiction between the social character of the forces of production and the private character of the appropriation. (426)

13.36 The concentration of the means of production in the hands of capitalistic monopolies leads to intensification of aggressivity in international relations. (428)

13.4 THE RECIPROCAL RELATIONSHIP OF THE FORCES OF PRODUCTION AND THE RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION UNDER SOCIALISM

13.41 The basic characteristic of the relations of production under socialism is the socialist ownership of the means of production. (428)

13.42 Under socialism work ceases to be a commodity. Under socialism there can be no exploitation of man by man, no relationship of domination and subjection. (428/9)

13.43 Under socialism there are two forms of property, state and co-operative-kolkhoz property. (429)

13.44 State property is the highest and most developed form of socialist property. (429) The revisionist claim that it leads to exploitation is absurd since exploitation is carried on only by a class which possesses the mean of production – which is not the case under socialism. (430)

13.45 A characteristic of the development of society under socialism is the growth of the forces of production and, above all, of the tools of production, along with the rise in the technical-cultural level of all workers. (433)

13.46 Under socialism, as under any other system of production, the forces of production develop more quickly than the relations of production. Hence, there come to be contradictions between them. (433)

13.47 Those contradictions, which arise in the course of the development of socialist society, are overcome on the basis of social property and in the context of the moral-political unity of the people. There are no antagonistic contradictions because there are no antagonistic classes under socialism. (434)

13.48 The economic development under socialism is not marked by the fact that it is free from the objective economic laws but by the fact that it is free from the spontaneous development of social production. (437)

13.49 Socialism is the first and lower phase of the Communist social formation. Under socialism, because of the insufficient productivity of work, one cannot yet distribute the goods according to needs. There are still class differences between worker and peasant, differences between the city and country and between intellectual and manual labour. (438)

§ 14

THE BASE AND THE SUPERSTRUCTURE OF SOCIETY

14.1 MEANING OF BASE AND SUPERSTRUCTURE. THE DETERMINING ROLE OF THE BASE IN REFERENCE TO THE SUPERSTRUCTURE

14.11 The base contains the totality of the economic relations between men, which come to be in the course of material production. (441)

14.12 To the superstructure belong all social ideas and the institutions connected with them: state, justice, political parties, political ideas, morality, art, philosophy, religion, church, etc. (441)

14.13 Every part of this superstructure has its own specific laws of development. Nonetheless, they all reflect the economic constitution (*stroj*) of the society and change under its determining influence. (442)

14.14 Social relationships are material or ideological. The latter are only superstructures of the former: they come to be as a result (form) of man's activity and are independent (*pomimo*) of the will and consciousness of man. (443)

14.15 When the antagonism and the class conflict it causes are present in the economy, in the base, then the superstructure, which represents the ideological relations of classes, must reflect this conflict. (447)

14.16 However, it does not follow that there is nothing common in the superstructures of different societies, for the bases of the antagonistic social formation have common traits, e.g. private property is common to them. (449)

14.2 UPHEAVAL IN THE BASE AND IN THE SUPERSTRUCTURE OF SOCIETY

14.21 Gradual changes in the base and superstructure in a social for-

mation must, in the period when such a formation is being dissolved by another, be interrupted by an upheaval, by the revolutionary reformation of the base and superstructure. (451)

14.23 During a social revolution, the upheaval in the superstructure means:
(a) Rejection of the political domination of the dying class;
(b) Erection of the political domination of the new class;
(c) A more or less masked elimination of the old system of political and juridical institutions and the erection of a new system thereof;
(d) An overcoming of the previously dominant ideology and the development and establishment of the new ideology as dominant in society;
(e) Reformation and use of some elements of the old superstructure. (451)

14.24 The upheaval in the ideological superstructure, which takes place in a period of socialist revolution, takes more time than the political and economic upheaval. (452)

14.3 THE ACTIVE ROLE OF THE SUPERSTRUCTURE

14.31 At the same time that Histomat maintains the primacy of the base, it also holds – in opposition to vulgar-economic materialism – that the superstructure has an active role, a reaction on the base.

14.32 However, the reaction between the base and superstructure is not a reaction of two mutually independent and equal „factors", for the superstructure is a reflection of the base and is produced by the base. (456)

14.33 The state and the law cannot determine the economy and direct it as they will: they can only limit certain economic tendencies and further others. (457)

§ 15

CLASSES, CLASS CONFLICT, STATE

15.1 THE DEFINITION OF CLASSES

15.11 The division of society into classes must not be reduced to biological (459), or to psychological (460) causes. False, too, are the distribution (460) and organization theories, (461/2) according to which classes are determined by incomes from different sources (wages, profits, interest) or by functions in society. (462)

15.12 Classes are large groups of men which are distinguished from each other by their place in a historically determined system of social production; by their relationships to the means of production (for a great part, expressed and formulated in laws); by their role in the social organization of work; and, consequently, by the mode of acquisition of and the size of their share of the social product. (463)

15.13 Classes are groups of men, some of whom can appropriate the work of others as a consequence of their different positions in a certain system of social economy. (463)

15.2 THE ORIGIN OF CLASSES. THE CLASS STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY AND ITS DEPENDENCE ON THE MODE OF PRODUCTION

15.21 Power alone is not enough as explanation of the origin of classes. (464) They came to be in a double way: through the distinction within the community of an exploiting upper class and through the conversion to slaves of enemies, at first, and then of members of the community. (465)

15.22 In the history of class society we find three types of servitude: slavery, serfdom and wage-labor. (466)

15.23 In the slave and feudal societies the producers of the material goods – the slaves and serfs – were not juridically emancipated and were personally dependent on the owners of the means of production. Under capitalism the direct producers – the workers – are juridically free but are in economic dependence on the capitalists. (466/7)

15.24 Proper to every antagonistic mode of production is a specific division of society into classes: slave and master under the slave-holding mode, lord and serf under the feudal, and capitalist and proletarian under the capitalist. These are the fundamental classes. (467)

15.25 In addition to the fundamental classes there are often non-fundamental or transition classes. (467)

15.26 The intelligentsia is a social layer (*proslojka*) which includes men who are engaged in spiritual labour. (469)

15.27 The intelligentsia is not and cannot be a separate class because it does not occupy an independent place in the production of material goods. Under capitalism, it is divided into bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and proletarian intelligentsia. (470)

15.3 CLASS INTEREST AND CLASS CONFLICT. CLASSES AND PARTIES

15.31 Through the entire history of society since the dissolution of primitive society runs the conflict between the classes. (471)

15.32 Class conflict is caused by oppositions in the economic situation and contradictions between the interests of the different classes. (472)

15.33 Class interest is determined not by the consciousness of the class but by its situation in the system of social production. (472)

15.34 Agreement of the interests of different classes makes possible their common activity; this, for example, is the case of the peasants and workers. (473)

15.35 The fundamental interests of the classes determine their relationship to the dominant mode of production and to the existent social and governmental order. (474)

15.36 The most pregnant expression of class conflict is the battle of political parties. (475)

15.37 Parties are distinguished from classes by the fact that (1) they only include a part of a class and (2) they are the result of a conscious union of the most active representatives of the class in question, and this in the name of definite political class ideas. (475)

15.4 THE STATE AS PRODUCT OF THE INCOMPATIBILITY OF CLASSES AND AS ORGAN OF CLASS DOMINATION

15.41 The state is a class organization of political power, which protects and guards the economic position of a given class. (477)

15.42 The alienation of the authorities from the mass of the population was necessary because society was divided into incompatibly antagonistic classes. (478)

15.43 Law, too, serves the interests of the dominant class. (479)

15.44 The foreign policy of a state depends on its class nature and on concrete historical conditions. (479)

15.45 The bourgeois state has taken on different forms but its essence, independent of these, is always the same. It is the political domination of the bourgeoisie, its dictatorship. (480)

15.46 Under capitalism the relationships of exploitation of the worker by the capitalist are hidden by their formal equality. (480) Nonetheless, the erection of the bourgeois-democratic state was progress because it gave the mass of workers broad opportunities of fighting for their interests. (481)

15.47 The fact that there are democratic elections does not change the class nature of the state. As long as the means of production remain in the hands of the capitalists all the laws, even those made under pressure from the workers, can be used against their interests. For the apparatus of the ruling authorities is, in fact, independent of the parliament and closely bound up with the bourgeoisie. (483)

15.48 The transition from free enterprise to the dominion of monopolies is reflected in the regression from political democracy to reaction. The most gruesome expression of this reaction is fascism. (483)

15.5 FORMS OF CLASS WAR AND THE CLASS ORGANIZATION OF THE PROLETARIAT

15.51 The proletariat carries on its battle against capitalism in three principal forms: economic, political and ideological. (485)

15.52 Historically the economic battle is first, (485) but it regularly passes over into the political battle which necessarily leads to the annihilation of capitalist exploitation. (487)

15.53 The political battle is a higher form of class conflict than the economic and differs from it by the fact that in the economic
(a) certain portions of the proletariat can take part,
(b) only the immediate interests of groups within the proletariat are pursued,
(c) the consciousness of the worker is strictly trade-unionist, i.e. limited to union interests,
(d) only a union organization is necessary for it –
while in the political
(a) the proletariat as a whole is involved,
(b) and sets itself basic, class goals,
(c) a proletarian consciousness of the historical mission of the proletariat is developed, and
(d) for it the formation of a Marxist political party is necessary. (488/9)

15.54 The ideological battle is an important form of the class conflict. Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. By means of it, the spontaneous (*stixijnaja*) class conflict of the workers becomes a conscious political battle. (489/90)

15.55 By itself, the spontaneous worker movement cannot generate the theory of socialism. (490)

15.6 THE ROLE OF THE MARXIST PARTY IN THE CLASS CONFLICT OF THE PROLETARIAT

15.61 The proletariat, like the other classes, has its own party. This distinguishes itself from other parties in its ideas, its organization and its role. (490)

15.62 The party of the working class is the leading, political organization and active part of this class, its vanguard. (490)

15.63 Historical experience shows that the working class cannot triumph over the bourgeoisie without the leadership of the Marxist party – it is like a trunk without a head. (491)

15.64 The fundamental organizational principle of the proletarian party is the principle of democratic centralism. It combines centralized leadership with intra-party democracy, iron party discipline with activity of the party masses. (492)

15.65 The Marxist party, as the militant organization of the revolutionary proletariat, allows in its ranks no fractions and cleanses itself of opportunistic elements. The Communist and workers' parties carry on the fight as well against dogmatism and sectarianism as against revisionism. (492)

15.66 Proletarian internationalism is an important principle of the activity of the Marxist party. (496)

15.7 THE NECESSITY OF THE DISAPPEARANCE OF CLASSES. THE UNIVERSALLY HISTORICAL MISSION OF THE PROLETARIAT

15.71 The final goal of the class war of the proletariat is the elimination of capitalist society, which is based on antagonism between classes, and the erection of the classless, Communist society. (497)

15.72 The division of society into classes of exploiters and exploited was historically necessary only as long as the productivity of social work was relatively undeveloped. (498)

15.73 The proletariat can free itself from subjection only by the

general elimination of private property. Whereby, it frees from subjection not only itself but all the workers. (499)

15.74 The proletariat is consequently revolutionary not only as exploited class but also as bearer of a new mode of production, which is higher than the capitalist mode. Therein does it distinguish itself from, for example, the peasants. It is the leader, the hero (*vožd*) of all workers. (500)

15.75 There is no question of what one proletarian might think, but it is a matter of the fact that the proletariat is interested in the elimination of capitalism because of its objective situation. (501)

§ 16

THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION AS LAW-BOUND CHANGE OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC FORMATIONS

16.1 SOCIAL REVOLUTIONS, THEIR CAUSES AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE IN THE HISTORY OF SOCIETY

16.11 The revolutionary period is a period of upheaval in the development of society, in which the transition from one socio-economic formation to another is realized. (505)

16.12 The deepest cause of social revolution lies in the conflict between the new forces of production and the anachronistic relations of production. (505)

16.13 Not every transfer of power from one class to another is a social revolution, but only a transfer in which the power is taken by a progressive class from the hands of a dying class. (507)

16.14 Social revolutions speed up the development of society enormously. Marx called them the „locomotive of history". (508)

16.15 Necessary for a revolution are objective conditions which are independent of man's will, i.e. a revolutionary situation. But it is also necessary that there be a subjective factor, that the consciousness and organization of the revolutionary class be ripe. (510/11)

16.16 No reforms are able to resolve the fundamental social contradictions. The transition from one socio-economic formation to another can come about only through a revolution. (511)

16.17 Revolutionaries regard reforms under capitalism as by-products of the revolutionary war and use them in the interest of intensifying the class conflict. (512)

16.18 After the victory of the social revolution, the revolutionary class uses not only revolutionary methods but also reforms to reach its goals. The roles of both change. (512)

16.2 THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND OTHER REVOLUTIONS. THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

16.21 The socialist revolution is radically different from all earlier revolutions in that its task is not to change the form of exploitation but to eliminate the exploitation of man by man. (513)

16.22 The tasks of the socialist revolution cannot be accomplished without the erection of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is a new and higher form of democracy. (513/14)

16.23 The proletarian dictatorship is the state of the working majority, with the working class in the lead. (515)

16.24 The political domination (*vlast'*) of the proletariat is necessary not only for the repression of the resistance of the exploiting classes but also for the civil leadership of the broad proletarian masses of workers by the working class. (515)

16.25 The dictatorship of the proletariat is also necessary for the realization of the economic and cultural reformation. (516)

16.26 The socialist revolution brings with it, in addition to the political and economic, also a cultural and ideological upheaval. This poses gigantic tasks before the dictatorship of the proletariat. (517)

16.27 Every social structure has its own sort of discipline. Under socialism it is a comradely discipline of the worker, in the education of whom conviction plays the greatest role. Nonetheless the working class is constrained to used coercion, too, against loafers, parasites, thieves, swindlers and other evil representatives of the capitalist tradition. (518)

16.3 CONDITIONS OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN THE PERIOD OF IMPERIALISM

16.31 During the imperialist period some countries are members of

the world-system of imperialism and their internal contradictions are part of the general contradictions of imperialism. But there are differences and tensions between the separate countries. Whence the transition to socialism comes about through the defection of single countries from the imperialist system. (520/1)

16.32 The existence of a socialist camp permits even weak lands to carry through a socialist reformation. (571/2)

16.4 RELATIONS BETWEEN THE DEMOCRATIC AND SOCIALIST CHANGES DURING THE PERIOD OF IMPERIALISM AND THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONS

16.41 While in the pre-Marxist epoch the democratic and socialist revolutions were separated by whole historical epochs, they are now close together wherever there has not yet been a bourgeois-democratic revolution. (524)

16.42 Both will be carried out by the proletariat with the help of its class confederates. (525)

16.43 The socialist revolution is possible even in those lands where the proletariat is only a minority, provided it has confederates among the exploited classes and among the semi-proletarian population of city and country. (525)

16.44 In many lands, in addition to the working class, the peasantry, the petty-bourgeoisie of the city, the intelligentsia and a part of the national bourgeoisie have also taken part in the battle for national liberation. For, the comportment of the various levels of the bourgeoisie is not uniform. (526)

16.45 For the proletariat the fight for democracy is subordinated to the fight for socialism, but in certain periods the fight for democracy can be taken as principal task as long as the perspective of socialist goals is not lost. (528)

16.5 THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE ARMED FIGHT AND THE PEACEFUL FORM OF BATTLE FOR POWER. THE MULTIFORMITY OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT.

16.51 Armed battle is no end in itself for Marxists. The use of force is only necessary because the classes which have outlived themselves use force in order to protect their riches and their privileges. (528)

16.52 The working class is interested in a peaceful realization of the revolution. (529)

16.53 According to the older Marxists, a peaceful path for the revolution is possible under certain conditions: that in a given land (1) there is not a strong military-bureaucratic, bourgeois governmental apparatus and (2) the majority of the working class, united and organized around its Marxist party, has achieved more or less extensive democratic rights. (380)

16.54 Today the possibilities of peaceful revolution are, in a series of countries, even greater because of (1) the strengthening of the position of socialism in the world, (2) the weakening of capitalism, (3) the rapprochement of the democratic and socialist changes. (531)

16.55 The parliament which used to serve only as tribune can, under present conditions, become a tool of the socialist reformation of society. (531)

16.56 Where capitalism has control over a powerful military and police apparatus there is inevitably a collision between the working class and the bitter resistance of the reactionary forces. The reactionary classes do not give up their domination willingly. (532)

16.57 A universal law of the socialist revolution is the liquidation of the old power apparatus and the replacement of it by a new one. This is the difference between the socialist and bourgeois revolutions. (533)

16.58 This transition can take various forms – but the dictatorship of the proletariat is unavoidable. (533)

16.59 There are different forms of this dictatorship but they all have the following characteristics in common: (1) replacement of represen-

tative bodies (parliament) by really effective organs of power; (2) unification in the hands of the people of the legal as well as the executive power; (3) erection of a homogeneous system of popular representation, from the highest to the local bodies, etc. (534)

16.6 THE TRANSITION PERIOD FROM CAPITALISM TO SOCIALISM

16.61 The transition period from capitalism to socialism begins with the erection of the political power of the proletariat and ends with the victory of socialist economy, i.e. with the construction of socialist society, the first phase of Communism. (535)

16.62 The economic structure of society is, during the transition period, characterized by a multiformity of economic forms. (535)

16.63 During the transition period there are three classes: the working class, the class of working peasants and the bourgeoisie.

16.64 During the transition period the working class will lift itself to a dominant position. (536)

16.65 The working peasantry is (as opposed to the Trotskyites) not an opponent but a confederate of the working class. This is the class of small landowners who are free from the exploitation of the big landowners but not yet free from that of the kulaks. The differentiation of this class gets deeper. (536)

16.66 During this period the bourgeoisie – industrial, merchant and kulak – will be liquidated. (536/7)

16.67 The class conflict between dying capitalism and newborn socialism is the law-bound and driving force of the transition. It necessarily intensifies but its forms and degree of intensity depend on the particular conditions which are to be found in a land. (539)

16.7 CLASS AND STATE UNDER SOCIALISM

16.71 With the victory of socialism in the SU, the exploiting classes are gone. (541)

16.72 Under socialism the peasants cease to be small commodity producers and become kolkhoz-peasants. (541)

16.73 The difference between the working class and the peasant class is determined by the appearance of two forms of property, state and cooperative. (541)

16.74 Under socialism the intelligentsia becomes worker and peasant intelligentsia. (542)

16.75 The relationships between the worker and peasant classes as also between both of them and the intelligentsia are those of friendly cooperation under the leadership of the working class. (542)

16.76 Although it is not correct to maintain, with Stalin, that the class conflict intensifies under socialism, (542) the fight against inimical elements and against agents sent in from abroad by the capitalist world is still necessary. (543)

16.77 The continued existence of the state under socialism is due to external and internal circumstances. But, its function is modified: while the army, penal detachments and espionage are directed against external enemies, the principal internal task of the socialist state are economic-organizational and cultural matters. (543)

16.78 The interests of the construction of Communism demand that the state be strengthened. (544)

16.79 Marxism-Leninism has always fought the petty-bourgeois and anarcho-socialist theories according to which the state is an evil and wherein the significance of centralized leadership of the economy is rejected. Democratic centralism in economy is a consequence of the nature of big business and of the socialized ownership of the means of production. (544/5)

16.8 THE COMMUNIST PARTY AS DIRECTING FORCE IN THE SYSTEM OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE WORKING CLASS

16.81 The leadership of the Marxist party is a necessary condition for the construction of socialism and Communism. (548)

16.82 The party brings to the masses the spirit of discipline, unites the workers in the name of one idea, and plays the role of leading force of the dictatorship of the proletariat. (549)

16.83 The Communist party accomplishes its tasks through a whole system of state and social organizations. (549)

16.84 Every attempt to divorce the activity of a governmental body or a social organization from the leadership of the party, to free them from the control of the party, is very harmful and contradicts the interests of the people. (550)

16.85 The degree of democracy does not depend on how many parties there are but on which class controls the means of production, possesses the power and directs the politics of the country. (550)

16.86 Marxism-Leninism does not reject the possibility of the existence of many parties during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. However, in the SU the unity of the Communist party and the people is the incarnation of the profound democracy of the Soviet constitution. (551)

16.87 The internal unity and iron discipline of the Communist party is a necessity during the dictatorship of the proletariat in order that the working class can maintain and firmly situate its domination. (551)

16.9 THE COEXISTENCE OF SOCIALISM AND CAPITALISM AND THE INEVITABILITY OF THE VICTORY OF SOCIALISM IN ALL LANDS

16.91 The coexistence of socialism with capitalism is, in the present epoch, historically unavoidable. (553)

16.92 The relationship between the socialist system and that of capitalism is one of battle. Nonetheless, Marxists reject the attempt to force any kind of constitution, even the most progressive, on a nation. (556)

16.93 Socialism will conquer in all lands not because it will convince the nations with force but because it corresponds to needs of the development of society. (556) The exportation of revolution is a nonsensical (*vzdornyj*) invention of the enemies of Marxism. (557)

16.94 The possibility of the coexistence of states with different structures is possible because, first of all, there are states which are not interested in war and, secondly, the aggressive forces of imperialism which are interested in war are not always able to start it. (558)

16.95 It is true that war has its economic roots in the structure of society but it does not automatically follow from the economy. War does not happen spontaneously (*stixijno*) but is consciously prepared by a definite class. (559)

§ 17

SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND ITS ROLE IN THE LIFE OF SOCIETY

17.1 SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS AS REFLECTION OF SOCIAL BEING. THE CLASS CHARACTER OF IDEOLOGY

17.11 Social consciousness is a reflection of the social being of men. (653)

17.12 Depending on which aspect of social being is reflected and on the type of reflection, social consciousness is divided into specific forms of consciousness (ideological forms): social theories and views (including political and juridical ideology), religion, philosophy, science, art, morality (ethics). (563)

17.13 The empirical sciences have as object not the social being of man but external nature. To this extent their basic content does not pertain to ideology. But, one should not overemphasize the difference between the empirical and social sciences. Even the empirical sciences come to be on the basis of a definite economic order, serve this order and the social forces which hold sway in it. The general world-outlook of one or another class has its influence on them. In this sense, they are not distinguished from the other forms of social consciousness. (563, fn.)

17.14 Social consciousness cannot reflect a change in social being before this has taken place in the being itself. (567)

17.15 Social consciousness does not directly mirror being (as opposed to vulgar materialism); its relationship to being is often very complex. (567)

17.16 Social consciousness and all its forms have always a class character. Each social class works out the expression of its views, ideas and theories. (568)

17.17 In a class society ideology is the complex *(sovokupnost')* of social (political, philosophic, religious, artistic, etc.) views of a given class whose situation and interests they express. (568)

17.18 In a class society the ideas of the ruling class are the dominant ideas. (599)

17.19 All previous classes have seen in their ideology the expression of the general interests of all of society. (569)

17.2 FORMS OF SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS

17.21 At earlier stages of the development of society there were not yet philosophy, science or political and juridical ideologies, but only a certain explanation of nature, as well as some religious, moral and artistic ideas. (571/2)

17.22 Political and juridical ideologies first came to be with the appearance of classes and they served to reflect the views of the dominant class. (572)

17.23 Philosophy appeared later either as an antidote to religion (materialism) or as a logical justification and apologetic of religion (idealism). (572)

17.24 Later, empirical science cut itself off from philosophy. Since they reflect the world in laws, they had a great influence on the practical activity of men. (572)

17.25 The results of science serve – depending on the nature of the economic relationships – the interests either of the exploiting class or (in socialist society) of society as a whole. (573)

17.26 Art reflects reality in the sensible form of living, concrete, artistic images. In all periods of the history of class society, it has given artistic expression to the interests of the battling classes – it serves as a conceptual *(idejnyj)* weapon in this battle. (574)

17.27 Contemporary bourgeois art represents a lack of ideas, formalism and anti-humanism. Socialist art is a continuation of the great artistic tradition of the past which it accepts and creatively develops in order to build a higher artistic culture which is socialist in content and national in form. (574)

17.281 The doctrine of an „eternal morality", based on the will of God or some other such unhistorical factor, is a swindle, a beclouding of the brains of the workers in the interest of the big landowners and capitalists. (575)

17.282 Morality reflects the needs of society in rules which regulate the comportment of man. (575) The dominant morality in a class society (and the law, too) guards the bases on which this society is built. (576)

17.283 Moral rules, the conceptions of men on good, are so different from people to people and from century to century that they are often mutually contradictory. (576)

17.284 In contemporary society since there are two different classes there are two different moral systems, the bourgeois and the proletarian (Communist) morality. The first is marked by individualism, the second by collectivism. (577)

17.285 Individualism and egoism arise necessarily in a society built on private property. Nonetheless, in such a society men must be taught to respect private property. Religious morality serves this purpose. (577/8)

17.286 Although religious morality claims that it is against individualism and for „social sentiments", its basic idea – that of personal salvation – is a peculiar expression of that individualism and egoism which were characteristic of the old society. (578)

17.287 Communist morality creates the content of ethical concepts and sentiments not out of „eternal commandments" but out of the objectively mature requirements of the battle for the new society. (579)

17.288 Communist morality demands a conscientious attitude toward work, solicitude for socialist property, and solidarity and mutual aid of workers at work. (579) It teaches how to unite patriotism with respect for other people (580), that man should be respected as a great value and it rejects any form of subjection (580) and makes the woman an equal member of society. (580) Communist morality rejects the bour-

geois doctrine of „free love" and opposes it with „marriage for love", i.e. stable marriage which is based on a morally pure relationship of the couple, and has as its goal care that the children are educated as honorable sons and daughters of socialist society (581). This means, then, that people in the socialist lands cannot separate their personal lives (*domaščij byt'*) from the universal interests of the society. (581)

17.289 Communist morality does not reject everything in previous moral codes – these had a positive content which later epochs did not take away. Honour, truthfulness, industriousness, respect for the elders, devotion to common tasks, courage, heroism, self-control, etc. – these form the „golden base" of mankind. (582)

17.291 Religion is not eternal: there was no religion in the earlier stage of development. (582)

17.292 Extremely primitive living conditions and fear of the elements evoked phantasmic representation of higher beings and faith in gods and invocation of them. (582/3)

17.293 With the coming of class society the social forces played a similar role since they were just as frightening and secretive for man as were the forces of nature. (583)

17.294 In class society the relationships of exploitation and subjection are the most important roots of religion. The dominant, exploiting, classes have used religion and the church as a spiritual weapon in order to maintain the class yoke and exploitation – „Slaves, heed your masters". (583)

17.295 Religion calms the exploited masses and reconciles them with the exploiters in power. While it teaches the masses renunciation of earthly goods, it demands only a minimum of philanthropy from the masters. (584)

17.296 Marxism has inherited the banner of militant atheism from the older materialism. In addition, however, it has shown that the fight against religion is above all a fight against the social conditions which evoke religion. (586)

17.3 SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY AND IDEOLOGY. SOCIAL AND INDIVIDUAL CONSCIOUSNESS

17.31 Social consciousness, in addition to ideology, also includes social psychology. (587)

17.32 Social psychology is the complex of social feelings, attitudes, habits, notions, illusions, etc. which arise naturally *(stixijno)* and directly under the influence of man's day-to-day existence. (588)

17.33 It is not possible that man's social sentiments and notions, which are evoked by the living conditions of a given class, do not have a class character. (588)

17.34 Class psychology can find its generalized expression in the social theories which are made by the class ideology: it has a great influence on the ideology. (589)

17.35 Nevertheless, social ideology is not a generalization of the psychology of the class but comes to be as a reflection of definite social relationships. (590)

17.36 The scientific ideology of the proletariat clearly expresses what the proletariat feels vaguely and unclearly. (590)

17.37 The final and complete liberation of the psychology of the working class from the old habits and traditions can be effected only on the basis of the socialist dictatorship of the proletariat. (590)

17.38 Individual consciousness should not be cut off from social consciousness, but this does not mean that the members of a class or group can have no individual consciousness. (592)

17.39 In a period of intensification of social contradictions a section of the ruling class – its better part – cuts itself off and goes over to the position of the revolutionary class. (592)

17.4 THE RELATIVE AUTONOMY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL IDEAS

17.41 Old social ideas and theories, feelings and images, show a great

longevity and continue to exist long after the material conditions, which gave them birth, have radically changed. (594)

17.42 It is also possible that consciousness take the lead over practical human activity. This happens when important representatives *(dejateli)* of science or art discover tendencies which are still hidden under superficial phenomena. (594)

17.43 The relative autonomy of the development of social ideas also consists in the fact that the ideas of each new epoch are closely bound up with those of the preceding era and, therefore, depend on them, too, and not just on the economic conditions. (594)

17.44 Any attempt to reduce the development of ideology directly to material production is a misrepresentation of Histomat. (598)

17.5 THE ROLE OF IDEAS IN SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

17.51 Social ideas, born of economic development, can themselves have a serious influence on economic development (against vulgar materialism). (602)

17.52 Progressive ideas serve progress: reactionary ideas serve the forces which seek to preserve the old order. In the end, the progressive ideas will win but, in the meantime, the reactionary ideas can do much damage. It is, therefore, not permitted to sit back and wait for the inevitable victory of the new ideas. (602/3)

17.53 The role of the new ideas depends on (1) the character of the social relationships, (2) the role of the class which comes out with them, (3) the degree of exactitude with which they reflect the needs of society, and (4) the degree of the spread and influence of these ideas among the masses. (603)

17.6 THE ROLE OF SOCIALIST IDEOLOGY IN THE BATTLE FOR THE VICTORY OF COMMUNISM

17.61 Under socialism, progressive ideas play a greater role than in any previous period. (606)

§ 18

THE ROLE OF THE POPULAR MASSES AND OF INDIVIDUALS IN HISTORY

18.1 THE POPULAR MASSES AS THE DECISIVE FORCE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY AND AS CREATOR OF HISTORY

18.11 History is above all the history of the working masses, for the development of material production is the main force which determines the social order and the working masses are the bearers of this development. (614)

18.12 The popular masses are the conscious bearers of history during the revolution; they open new paths and defend them against the reaction. (615)

18.2 ROLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN HISTORY

18.21 The more active the popular masses are in historical movement, the sharper is the problem of the leadership of this movement, of the role of the leaders *(voždej)* of the political parties. (621)

18.22 Marxism does not deny the role of individuals but explains the matter scientifically, i.e. that certain individuals are active in such a way in a given epoch and in no other way. (622)

18.23 Diamat's teaching on the unity of the contingent and necessary is the basis for Marxism's characterization of the role of individuals in history. (624/5)

18.24 The appearance of a historic individual is conditioned by the needs of the development of society. Should a genius die, then his tasks will be solved by others. (624/5)

18.25 It is not the opinion of Marxism that under Communism all men will be equal in all respects, e.g. in talents. (626)

18.26 Great historic individuals are those who, earlier, more clearly and more profoundly than others, saw the new historical situation, understood the requirements of social development and put themselves at the head of the movement of the masses. (627)

18.27 The typical historic personality generally reflects the nature of the class which he serves. (627)

18.3 THE ROLE OF THE LEADERS OF THE WORKING CLASS IN THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

18.31 Without far-seeing, clever and experienced leaders (*voždej*), the working class cannot achieve its liberation. (630)

18.32 Classes are led by political parties and political parties by the leaders. (630)

18.33 Everyone who in any way weakens the executive and organizational role of the Communist Party helps the enemies of the working class. (633)

§ 19

THE MAIN TENDENCIES OF CONTEMPORARY BOURGEOIS PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIOLOGY (635–677)

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